

# **EXHIBIT A**

## **Testimonio a favor del General Clíver Alcalá**

Felipe Pérez Martí  
Seattle, 4 de Septiembre de 2023.

The Honorable Alvin K. Hellerstein  
United States District Judge  
United States Courthouse  
Southern District of New York  
500 Pearl St.  
New York, New York 10007

Estimado Juez Hellerstein.

### **1. Introducción: mi persona y mi contacto con el Gral. Clíver Alcalá.**

Soy venezolano, economista, con estudios de postgrado en la Universidad de Chicago. La mayor parte de mi vida me he dedicado a la actividad privada para ejercer mi profesión, como académico y como consultor. Sin embargo, pasé un breve tiempo, entre mayo de 2002 y Abril de 2003, por la administración pública, como Ministro de Planificación, durante la primera gestión de Hugo Chávez. Aunque volví a mi actividad académica, seguí en mi labor social como voluntario, pero no como político con vinculación con el gobierno o la oposición, sino como promotor independiente de los derechos políticos ciudadanos. Luego de que la dirigencia opositora lo abandonó al Movimiento Libertadores en 2017, un grupo de activistas sociales lo retomamos. Esta organización social fue la que organizó y realizó el 16 de Julio de 2017 un plebiscito político ciudadano completamente independiente del gobierno, cuya magnitud y significancia no ha tenido parangón ni en el país ni en el mundo. Personalmente fui quien ideó la propuesta del plebiscito, aunque fue la Mesa de Unidad Democrática, MUD, la plataforma política de la oposición, quien lo realizó bajo el nombre de Movimiento Libertador. En dicho plebiscito el pueblo venezolano decidió desconocer al gobierno de Nicolás Maduro, nombrar un nuevo gobierno y exigir a la fuerza armada que restituyera el hilo constitucional.

Lamentablemente, tanto el gobierno como la MUD, así como la fuerza armada en funciones, desconocieron la decisión ciudadana en tan magno evento y fue por esas fechas que asumí el liderazgo como coordinador del Movimiento Libertadores para tratar de rescatarlo. Mi trayectoria ha sido atacada tanto por el gobierno como por la oposición, porque he identificado lo que los une: ser agentes de quienes mueven los hilos en nuestro país, un cartel de mafias caza-renta que se dedica a capturar la renta petrolera, que solo en el papel pertenece a los ciudadanos. Es algo que, aunque se conoce en la literatura especializada en Economía, dada nuestra enfermedad de la “Maldición de la Abundancia”, no se toma en cuenta en la política en nuestro país, cosa que de por sí muestra el dominio que a todos los niveles tiene dicho cartel, en este caso a nivel comunicacional y cultural. En este artículo [1] puede verse que me siento orgulloso de mi gestión como funcionario público y como voluntario.

Es en ese contexto de cohabitación entre el gobierno y la oposición es que se ubica mi relación con el General Clíver Alcalá, pues no podíamos contar ni con ellos ni con la fuerza armada constituida para liberar a nuestro país. No lo conocí personalmente, sino indirectamente a través de Carive, la organización militar alternativa legítima que se constituyó, junto con otros militares patriotas, para liberar nuestro país. El General Alcalá era el comandante militar de la operación “Fuerza de Tareas, que se organizó a finales del año 2019, por parte de dichos militares, para restituir el orden

constitucional de Venezuela, en cumplimiento del mandato del plebiscito del 16 de Julio de 2017. Dentro de la coalición de fuerzas patrióticas que pusimos en marcha en dicho proceso, yo estaba a cargo de algunas propuestas de la parte civil de la operación, como líder del Movimiento Libertadores. Propuestas del plan de gobierno, cuya presentación se puede ver aquí publicada [2] y de personal a cargo de posiciones de gobierno, en niveles alto y medio, abarcando los temas económicos, sociales, legales e institucionales. Incluyendo ministerios, cargos judiciales, legislativos y de alta gerencia.

Mi relación directa con la operación se realizó a través de Carive, institución militar patriota liderada por el General Javier Nieto Quintero. También a través de Jordan Goudreau, quien había realizado un contrato con el gobierno legítimo de Juan Guaidó para tener legitimidad legal y el financiamiento de la logística requerida. El proyecto de coalición, que incluía militares patriotas, policías, resistencia civil organizada, movimiento de trabajadores y otras organizaciones del coraje, llamado provisionalmente Pacto Republicano, está plasmado aquí [3].

## **2. Nuestro testimonio sobre el Gral. Alcalá.**

Como se podrá constatar en el documento respectivo, la pertenencia al Pacto Republicano exige la honestidad como requisito fundamental, independientemente de la ideología política. Esto se deriva del verdadero mapa de conflicto que hemos identificado en Venezuela, que muestra por un lado a los corruptos, y por otro lado a los honestos. Los corruptos están representados por el cartel de mafias caza-renta y sus títeres, mientras que los honestos son los líderes, sean políticos, sociales, militares, y religiosos que siguen los principios de la ética, el amor y la democracia para rescatar la soberanía del pueblo venezolano. Adicionalmente se requiere estar claros de que la estrategia óptima consiste en un acto de fuerza que permita sacar a Maduro y su régimen, por un lado y al sistema caza-renta mismo, por el otro. La razón tiene que ver con al carácter delincucional y de facto, no democrático, del régimen de Maduro, apoyado por Cuba, entre otros imperios externos negativos y grupos delincuenciales relacionados con el tráfico de drogas, entre otros, como los grupos guerrilleros colombianos, las FARC, el ELN y Hezbollah.

Es de recalcar que, además de la capacitación para realizar la tarea específica encomendada dentro del pacto, se requiere amor por su país, por su pueblo. Se trata de un requisito sine qua non, que es esencial, pues la liberación y refundación de nuestro país requiere un esfuerzo tan grande que puede implicar entregar la vida misma a cambio de nada más que la satisfacción por haber realizado un deber por la patria y sus ciudadanos. Implica una transferencia de la vida sin contrapartida alguna de tipo pecuniario o de poder o influencia política. En resumen, para ser parte del Pacto Republicano se requieren tres cosas: Moral (honestidad), Luces (habilidad) y Amor. Sobre todo amor. Esas tres cosas las hemos identificado en el General Clíver Alcalá.

De hecho, para que nosotros, en el Movimiento Libertadores, pudiéramos entrar en un pacto con el General Alcalá, no podía carecer de ninguna de esos tres requisitos. No podía ser corrupto, ni inepto, ni egoísta. A través de Carive, organización en la que confiamos plenamente tanto en ese momento como ahora, teníamos la garantía, junto con otras fuentes creíbles, de que el General Alcalá, comandante de la operación, cumplía con lo requerido. Incluso si hubiera sido chavista o de izquierda, pues el pacto es, por diseño, de amplio espectro ideológico.

Para documentar esas tres virtudes en el General Alcalá queremos relatar nuestra respuesta a algunos círculos de la política venezolana que pusieron en duda nuestra alianza y nuestra operación por la presencia del General Alcalá entre nuestros líderes. Nuestra documentación se basa en fuentes de

primera línea para hacer investigación profunda al respecto, pues había que arrojar luz en un ambiente lleno de confusión y mentira al respecto. En estos tres artículos plasmamos el resultado [4] [5], [6].

### 3. Consideraciones finales.

Muchos me han criticado por haber formado parte del gobierno de Hugo Chávez (entre Mayo de 2002 y Abril de 2003). Pero precisamente por eso debería ser muy apreciado por el pueblo venezolano, pues salí airoso de esa prueba, como Ulises salió airoso de las tentaciones del mar de las sirenas, que en este caso se refiere al enriquecimiento ilícito y servir al cartel de mafias delincuenciales y no a los ciudadanos. En el artículo citado me defiendo al respecto [1].

El caso de Clíver Alcalá es similar. ¿Cómo es posible que alguien que alcanzó tan altos cargos en el gobierno de Chávez haya salido pobre, como lo muestra la evidencia empírica constatable públicamente? No hay más que una explicación: la honestidad a toda prueba y el amor por el país. En el caso mío, nunca fui chavista, como muestra la evidencia señalada. Pero en incluso si uno fue en el pasado chavista, como en el caso de Clíver Alcalá, lo determinante en esta lucha es la honestidad y el amor, además de la capacidad en la acción de gestión.

También es claro que el General Alcalá nunca estuvo de acuerdo con el tráfico de drogas, ni lo avaló. A pesar de que apoyó a las FARC por órdenes de Chávez, cuando creía en ese proyecto político. Eso se puede demostrar de manera directa e indirecta y tiene que ver con los incentivos, como se sabe en Economía y Teoría de Juegos. Apoyar una transacción y un negocio de este tipo implica, ineludiblemente, participación en sus beneficios. Nadie participa en una operación de altísimo riesgo y altísimos beneficios por altruismo. Su comentada vida humilde contradice su involucramiento.

Queda claro, por lo narrado en los artículos citados, que el General Alcalá no solo no estuvo de acuerdo con las operaciones de drogas de las cuales se enteró posteriormente, sino que su oposición a ello le costó la persecución del chavismo al punto de poner en peligro su vida. Es lo que determinó que se volteara políticamente de tal manera que estuvo dispuesto a exponer su vida y su prestigio en una operación para deponer el régimen chavista de Maduro y sus aliados cubanos y guerrilleros de la FARC y el ELN. Como decía Jesús, más fuerte hablan las obras que las palabras.

Para finalizar, es interesante considerar el caso del General Baduel, quien también fue chavista como el General Alcalá y quien también iba a participar a través de su grupo militar, junto con nosotros, en la operación para deponer al régimen de Maduro. Aquí hablamos de cómo fue traicionado por el chavismo y cómo dio su vida, de hecho, a manos también del régimen cubano, de por su posición de principios [7].

En resumen, los hechos expuestos muestran, más allá de las palabras y de las apariencias, el verdadero carácter y las intenciones del General Clíver Alcalá en lo que está siendo juzgado. Tanto en su gestión como funcionario del Estado y del gobierno, como en su actividad posterior. Ha reconocido en este juicio que en el pasado ayudó a las FARC y que manejó armas, como se le imputa. Pero la intención personal subyacente no fue para perjudicar al pueblo norteamericano ni al pueblo venezolano. Ni por lo de las drogas, ni por lo político, como lo demostró en la práctica. En su caso, también como en el de Ulises, hablan más los hechos que las palabras.

Cordialmente y sus gratas órdenes para cualquier otro requerimiento. Estoy dispuesto a ser testigo presencial si así se me requiere.

Felipe

Felipe Pérez Martí

## Referencias

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**TRANSLATION**

**Testimony in favor of General Clíver Alcalá**

Felipe Pérez Martí  
Seattle, September 4, 2023

The Honorable Alvin K. Hellerstein  
United States District Judge  
United States Courthouse  
Southern District of New York  
500 Pearl St.  
New York, New York 10007

Dear Judge Hellerstein:

**1. Introduction: My Personal Background and Contact with Gen. Clíver Alcalá**

I am Venezuelan, an economist, and have taken postgraduate courses at the University of Chicago. I have devoted most of my life to working in the private sector to practice my profession, both as an academic and a consultant. However, I spent a brief stint—between May, 2002, and April, 2003—in public administration as the Minister of Planning, during Hugo Chávez’s first Administration. Even though I went back to my academic activity, I continued doing my social work as a volunteer, albeit not as a politician with links to the government or the opposition, but rather as an independent promoter of political citizens’ rights. After the opposition leadership walked away from *Movimiento Libertadores* in 2017, a group of social activists like myself took it up again. This social organization was the one that organized and conducted a citizens’ political plebiscite on July 16, 2017, fully independent of the government, the magnitude and significance of which has been unparalleled in the country and the world.

Personally, I was the one who came up with the idea to propose a plebiscite, even though it was conducted by the *Mesa de Unidad Democrática*, MUD [per its Spanish acronym], the opposition’s political platform, under the name of *Movimiento Libertador* [sic]. At that plebiscite the Venezuelan people decided to repudiate the government of Nicolás Maduro, to appoint a new government and to require the armed forces to restore constitutional order.

Unfortunately, both the government and MUD, as well as the acting armed forces, disregarded the citizens’ decision at such solemn event and, at around that time, I took over leadership as coordinator of *Movimiento Libertadores* to try to rescue it. My track record has been under attack both by the government and the opposition, because I have identified what unites them: being the agents of those who pull the strings in our country, a cartel of income-hunting mafias engaged in seizing the income from oil, which only belongs to the citizenry on paper. This is something which, although known in specialized economics literature as the “Curse of Abundance,” is not taken into account in our country’s policies, which in and of itself shows the control exercised by that cartel at all levels—in this case at the communication and cultural levels. It can be seen in this article [1] that I am proud of my track record as a public servant and volunteer.

My relationship with General Clíver Alcalá can be framed against this background of cohabitation, as we could not rely either on them or the established armed forces to liberate our country. I did not personally meet him, although I indirectly met him through CARIVE, the alternative, legitimately established military organization, together with other patriotic military officers, to liberate our country. General Alcalá was the military commander of the “*Fuerza de Tareas* [Task Force]” operation,

organized in late 2019 by the aforementioned military officers to restore Venezuela's constitutional order, to comply with the mandate of the July 16, 2017 plebiscite. Within the coalition of patriotic forces set in motion by us to implement that process I was in charge of some of the operation's civilian proposals, as the leader of *Movimiento Libertadores*. The proposed government's plan, a presentation of which has been published here [2], shows high- and middle-level government staff positions in the economic, social, legal and institutional areas. It includes ministries, judicial, legislative and upper-management positions.

My direct association with the operation was carried out through CARIVE, a patriotic military institution headed by General Javier Nieto Quintero. Also through Jordan Goudreau, who had entered into an agreement with Juan Guaidó's legitimate government to have legal legitimacy and financing for the required logistics. The coalition project, which included patriotic military officers, police officers, organized civil resistance, the labor movement and other courageous organizations, was temporarily called *Pacto Republicano* [Republican Pact], and is depicted herein [3].

## 2. Our Testimony concerning Gen. Alcalá.

As can be confirmed in the applicable document, membership in *Pacto Republicano* requires honesty as a basic requirement, regardless of political ideology. This stems from the real map of conflicts we have identified in Venezuela, showing those who are corrupt, on the one hand, and those who are honest, on the other hand. The corrupt ones are represented by the cartel of income-hunting mafias and their puppets, while the honest ones are the leaders—be they politicians, social, military and religious leaders—adhering to ethical principles, love and democracy to restore the sovereignty of the Venezuelan people. An additional requirement is to be clear that the optimum strategy consists of an act of force allowing for the removal of Maduro and his regime, on the one hand, and the income-hunting system, on the other hand. This is based on the criminal and *de facto* nature, as opposed to the democratic nature, of the Maduro regime, which is supported by Cuba, among other negative external empires and criminal groups linked to drug trafficking, including Colombian guerrilla groups, such as the FARC, the ELN [National Liberation Army; ELN, per its Spanish acronym], and Hezbollah.

It should be pointed out that, in addition to training to perform the specific entrusted task within the Pact, love for the country, for the people, is required. This is an essential *sine qua non* requirement, as the liberation and relaunching of our country requires such a great effort that it may even entail giving up one's life in exchange for just the satisfaction of having fulfilled a duty vis-à-vis the homeland and their citizens. It means giving up one's life for no consideration whatsoever, either in terms of money, power of political influence. In sum, three things are required to be a member of *Pacto Republicano*: Morals (honesty), Intelligence (skillfulness) and Love. Specially love. We have identified those three traits in General Clíver Alcalá.

In fact, in order for us in the *Movimiento Libertadores* to have been able to enter into an agreement with General Alcalá, he could not have lacked any of those three requirements. He could not be corrupt, inept or selfish. Through CARIVE, an organization we fully trust both then and now, we had the assurance, together with other credible sources, that General Alcalá, commander of the operation, met the requirements. Even if he had been a Chavist or a leftist [he would have fit the bill], for the Pact, by design, consists of a wide ideological spectrum.

To document these three virtues of General Alcalá, we want to describe our response to some Venezuelan political circles which questioned our Alliance and our operation given General Alcalá's presence amongst our leaders. Our documentation was based on first-rate-----



sources to conduct an in-dept investigation on the subject, since light had to be shed on a scene fraught with confusion and lies in this regard. The result thereof appears in these three articles [4], [5], [6].

### 3. Final Considerations

Many people have criticized me for having been part of Hugo Chávez's government (between May, 2002, and April, 2003). But precisely because of that I should be held in very high regard by the Venezuelan people, for I succeeded in that test, just as Ulysses succeeded in resisting the temptations when sailing through the sea of sirens, referring in this case to illicit enrichment and serving the cartel of criminal mafias rather than the citizenry. In this regard, I defend myself in the article cited herein [1].

Clíver Alcalá's case is a similar one. How can it possibly be that someone who achieved such a high rank in the Chávez's government emerged from it as a poor individual, as proven by publicly verifiable empirical evidence? There is but one explanation: foolproof honesty and love for the country. In my case, I was never a Chavist, as shown by the above-mentioned evidence. But even if one had been a Chavist in the past, as in Clíver Alcalá's case, the determining factor in this struggle is honesty and love, in addition to action-management ability.

It is also clear that General Alcalá never agreed with drug trafficking or endorsed it. Despite the fact that he supported the FARC, by order of Chávez, when he still believed in that political project. That can be proven, directly and indirectly, and it has to do with incentives, as known in economics and the game theory. To support a transaction and a deal of this kind unavoidably entails profit sharing. No one participates in a very high-risk operation with very high returns for mere altruism. His much-commented humble life contradicts his involvement.

It is clear, given the description in the above-mentioned articles, that General Alcalá not only agreed to the drug operations—which he subsequently found out about—but his opposition to them earned him the persecution of Chavism, to the extent that his life was put in jeopardy. This is what determined his political flip, so much so that he was willing to endanger his life and prestige in an operation to depose Maduro's Chavist regime and his Cuban allies, the FARC and the ELN guerrillas. As Jesus used to say: actions speak louder than words.

To conclude, it is interesting to consider the case of General Baduel, who was also a Chavist, just as General Alcalá, and who was to jointly participate with us, through his military group, in the operation to depose Maduro's regime. I am talking about here how he was betrayed by Chavism and how he gave up his life, at the hands of the Cuban regime, for his principled position [7].

In summary, the facts presented show, beyond words and appearances, the true character and intentions of General Clíver Alcalá in what is being tried. Both in his management as a State and government official, and in his subsequent activity. He has acknowledged that he helped the FARC in the past and handled weapons, as charged. But the reason was not to do harm to the U.S. or the Venezuelan peoples. It was not over drugs or over political issues, as he proved in practice. In his case, just as in Ulysses' case, actions speak louder than words.

I remain, cordially yours, and at your disposal should you require anything else. I am willing to be a witness, if so required of me.

Felipe Pérez Martí





## References

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**The Honorable Alvin K. Hellerstein  
United States District Judge  
United States Courthouse  
Southern District of New York  
500 Pearl St.  
New York, New York 10007**

January 1st, 2024

Dear Judge Hellerstein,

I am writing on behalf of Cliver Alcala Cordones who will be sentenced in your courtroom this month. I have known Cliver for 5 years and lived with him and his family— his wife Martha, his precious daughter Lupe and his teenage niece who he raised as his own daughter. Not only did he care for his family, but Cliver used whatever money he could spare to feed Venezuelans who had fled their country and were without any means to survive.

As a soldier for 23 years — first in Canada and then in the USA, I bonded with Cliver because we both share careers as soldiers. I think most soldiers feel the need to be of service, and I know that Cliver always sought to assist those in need. I remember the grocery store trips we made to get rice and any other food that we could share with others. We would pool together funds to take care of others. Cliver would bring food to the homes of the people who needed it most and knew his neighbors by name. I know that he did this throughout his life. Raised by his grandmother after losing his parents, Cliver joined the military to have a purpose in helping others. He told me about the trips he did to help kids in remote parts of Venezuela who often went without food. He has been dedicated to providing whatever little extra he had to give to others.

Cliver has been incarcerated awaiting his court date which I hope will be factored in when sentencing him. The stress of Covid, not speaking English, having no family in the United States to visit him, going years not being a present father to his young daughter, being unable to provide for his family, being in limbo and not knowing when he will ever be home is a big punishment. He has taken responsibility for the crimes he committed as a soldier. I know that he will never again do anything to harm others at the behest of anyone, he wants to be with his family and be a responsible member of society again and to be of service to his community.

Thank you. Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jordan Goudreau', with a stylized, sweeping flourish.

Jordan Goudreau



September 27, 2023

The Honorable Alvin K. Haellerstein  
United States District Judge  
United States Courthouse  
Southern District of New York  
500 Pearl Street  
New York, NY 10007

Dear Judge Hellerstein,

I am writing on behalf of Cliver Alcala Cordones in hopes that my words will be considered when sentencing him. The purpose of this letter is to provide a character reference for Cliver whom I have known as both a friend and in a professional capacity for over 2 years.

I immigrated from Canada as a child and became a citizen of the United States in 2008. After graduating Columbia University, I became a filmmaker and I am a certified artist by the NYC Department of Cultural Affairs. My life is dedicated to advocating for otherwise silenced voices and my films focus on social justice. As an independent filmmaker working outside the studio system, I have produced 19 feature films that have premiered as official selection in film festivals in Cannes, Sundance and Tribeca.

I first became familiar with Cliver when researching a story about the Venezuelan dissidents to the oppressive Maduro regime. The devastation facing Venezuelans is something that I feel should be understood as we face thousands of people who are arriving to New York City because of the political, economic and humanitarian crisis there. Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas announced 500,000 visas due to the "conditions in their home country prevent their safe return." In reviewing those who are the fiercest critics to Maduro, I reached out to Cliver while he was being held in

prison, and have been the sole social visitor during the latter part of time in which he awaited trial. Cliver took an immediate interest in my work as a filmmaker and with my charitable work with the Lower Eastside Girls Club. I have served on the board of the Lower Eastside Girls Club since 2012 and as the father of 3 daughters, he was immediately interested to hear about the work we do for kids, the vast majority of members are Latinx.

On a very personal note, my father faced criminal charges when I was in college and was subsequently deported from the United States. I cannot describe the upheaval and pain it caused to me and my younger siblings who could no longer have a parent to raise us. Cliver is a father to a young child and has been absent from these formative years due to his charges and I can tell you from first-hand experience how gutting it is to be aware of a parent incarcerated and thereby unavailable for the day-to-day needs of a child. It is a big reason why I devote so much time to the Girls Club—many children are raised by one parent and the time away from a father is detrimental.

I will add that as a friend, Cliver has always been loyal and honest. I have seen the personal growth from losing so much of what has been familiar to him—being with his family in Colombia where he resided after being forced out of Venezuela for his outspoken criticism of the government. I have experienced a man who has done a lot of soul searching and re-evaluating what matters most in life—family, integrity, and responsibility. I can attest to how remorseful he feels for what he did and how he will never repeat this type of behavior in the future. People grow from being held accountable and I can see how Cliver takes full ownership for what he did. I hope that he can move on and be back with his loved ones abroad.

On that note, another film of mine called EVOLUTION OF A CRIMINAL was about a teen who committed a bank robbery and the judge had the discretion to sentence him from 0 to 30 years for this crime. Darius Clark Monroe got a sentence of 3 years which allowed for him to ultimately attend NYU and become an award winning writer and director. Others with whom he served time are still in prison. I believe Cliver will become a contributing member of society if afforded the freedom to do so, as he is an honorable man who served his country, is a veteran who risked his life to condemn an oppressive regime and has turned himself in when a warrant was issued to face his crimes, and now finds himself pleading to lesser charges for which he will be sentenced. You are faced

with the decision for Cliver's sentence and I am attesting the the impact of that decision on the life of not just Cliver, but his children. He has spent years in prison, during the Covid epidemic and been removed from any family, compounded by the language barrier of being a non-english speaker in a foreign country. As a result of this plea, he will never be allowed to live here and will be faced with a huge price to pay for his fight against the Maduro resume. His journey in your courtroom is just the beginning of a long road ahead for him, as he will then be deported which is another excruciating experience in a detention center— it takes months and sometimes years before seeing an immigration judge. Again, something I witnessed when going through this experience with my father who was shuffled to various detentions centers across the northeast. And once deported, Cliver has to find a safe place for him and his family to live without being killed by the Maduro regime who assassinates his political opponents.

I implore you to consider all of these factors as Cliver has the possibility of a law abiding life in another country, and as someone who knows him very well, I know he will be a contributing member of whatever country will have him.

I am available anytime to speak on his behalf as someone who has researched his history and his dedication to helping others, his close relationship with his daughters and his lifelong devotion to his country.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jen Gatien', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Jen Gatien

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